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Stop-Press and Manuscript Corrections
in the Aldine Edition of
Benedetti's *Diaria de bello Carolino*

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THE productions of the Aldine press, at least those issued by the founder of the firm himself, have been listed so often and have been so thoroughly described according to various bibliographical standards that new additions to the canon are hardly to be expected.¹ For well over a century, the world of books has been provided with a detailed list of the Aldine classics,² and these volumes have served classical scholarship as important prime sources for textual research practically since the day they came off the press. Under these circumstances, it seems almost unbelievable that the surviving copies appear to

¹ It is my pleasant duty to acknowledge, with grateful thanks, the kind help of my good friend and colleague, Dr. George K. Boyce, not only in the preparation of the material for this paper but also in the reading of the final article both in manuscript and in proof. Furthermore, my obligation to him extends far beyond the present paper and applies equally to whatever I have written for the past several years. Naturally it would be most improper to attribute any possible errors of judgement or fact to anyone but the present writer.

² The standard reference work is the bibliography by A. A. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde* (Paris, Jules Renouard, 1834).

have escaped investigation for the purpose of discovering variant settings.

A study of several of the earliest Aldines recently undertaken by the present writer in the chief European and American libraries has brought to light certain new facts which should claim the attention not only of bibliographers but also of classicists and of editors of Renaissance texts in general. For the one, it is a matter of some moment to determine what the "ideal" copy of any Aldine may be, while, for the others, it is supremely important to know how the final and correct text (as Aldus intended to present it to his readers) should be read in order to make it possible to utilize such an edition for *variae lectiones*. Stop-press corrections will, of course, be readily identified by a line-for-line comparison of many copies against a control. But there are other corrections made by hand in many early Aldines which have been ignored both by the bibliographers and by the several editors, though it is my contention that such manuscript alterations *made by the printer or in his shop in several copies*³ form an integral part of the book. Since it is clear that such corrections were considered by Aldus as essential in the presentation of the text as he wished it to appear, these emendations are as much a part of the book as, for example, inserted slips or texts supplied by means of stamping. Unfortunately, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century bibliophiles demanded that many such Aldines be washed and cleaned, with the unfortunate result that manuscript corrections were often obscured or made undecipherable. Such books require the use of ultra-violet rays, or possibly infra-red photography, both of

³ Since the corrections are always identical in form, written in at the same time and with the same ink, and many are certainly supplied by just one hand, it is certain that these alterations are not the diligent corrections of individual scholars but "wholesale" emendation made at the printing house. Of course, individual copies also contain specific corrections made by an industrious reader; thus, for example, the copy in the New York Public Library contains extensive marginal notes found only in that copy, while in Morgan 365 "iunt" in the last line of sign. h₅ recto has been corrected to "aiunt." This emendation is found in none of the other copies. Only in the Bibliothèque Nationale copy has "indignatiois" on h₅^v, l. 19, been corrected to "indignationis."

which multiply the task—and deplete the purse—of the twentieth-century scholar. Earlier classicists ignored these manuscript alterations, even when they could read them; for example, among the variants admitted to the text of Musaeus by the eighteenth-century editor Röver (Lugduni Batavorum, 1737) there are at least two which Aldus repudiated by means of manuscript entries. The Aldine edition of *Hero and Leander* still requires further investigation before a summary can be offered the reader, but another Aldine of the same period illustrates the points which I have made.

The *Diaria de bello Carolino* by Alessandro Benedetti (GW 864; H 807; *Census* A 355) has been described in bibliographies too numerous to list here in full, but I have seen no mention anywhere either of the stop-press corrections or of the manuscript emendations commonly found in the several copies. The fifteen that have been studied for this purpose may be identified by the following sigla:

- a - New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, PML 365 (*partly washed*)
- b - “ “ “ “ “ “ PML 442
- c - Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Inc. Ross. 9
- d - “ “ “ “ “ Inc. IV. 203
- e - Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Inc. 826
- f - Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, no. 38487
- g - Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana (only partly checked)
- h - Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. K 511
- i - London, British Museum, Grenville 6202 (*much washed*)
- k - “ “ “ C. 8. h. 14 (vellum)
- l - New York, New York Public Library, Reserve
- m - Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Inc. A 355⁴
- n - San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library (Mead no. 3297)⁵
- o - Cleveland, Army Medical Library⁶
- p - Washington, Library of Congress, Inc. x. B 46

⁴ Miss Dorothy Miner has kindly supplied the readings of the Walters' copy.

⁵ For the presence or absence of corrections in the Huntington copy (from the collection of the Duke of Sussex), I am obliged to Mr. Herman R. Mead.

⁶ Dr. Dorothy M. Schullian has not only provided me with the citations from the copy in the Army Medical Library but has most graciously permitted me to draw

D - Lodovico Domenichi's Italian translation (Venice, 1549)

E - J. G. von Eckhart's Latin edition in his *Corpus historicum mediæ ævi* (Leipzig, 1723, Vol. II)

G - P. Giustiniano's Latin text in his *Rerum Venetarum historia* (Strassburg, 1611-1612, Appendix, pp. 74-101)

Listed below are five stop-press corrections, followed by seventeen cases of manuscript emendations; in each instance the earlier (incorrect) form of the text is given first. Following this list, one example of each type of correction will be subjected to a more detailed analysis in order to show why Aldus felt obliged to correct his text in this fashion.

Stop-press Corrections

a6^v, l. 5: golli - dfi; a (MS. cor. to "galli")⁷ galli - bceghklmnop; EG

c7^v, l. 14: eneæ - bceghln aeneæ - adfikhmnop; EG

d7^v, ll. 18/19: eos fugientes persequi statuerunt. Ac ad inces-|| sendos à tergo, remorandosq;. Petrum duo-|| [so: an]

eos fugientes persequi statuerunt: miserütq; ad || incessendos à tergo, remorandosq; Petrū duo-|| [so: bcdefghiklmop; DEG]

d7^v, l. 22: præde - an prædæ - bcdefghiklmop; EG

g7, l. 15: uerinum insignia uiderüt: quæ oppidanis im-|| [so: bcdfgilmnop]
uerinum insignia uiderüt: quæ oppidanis im|| [so: aehk; DEG]

Manuscript Alterations*

* The symbol * denotes that this is the reading in the BM Grenville copy, but since this has been thoroughly cleaned, it is uncertain whether or not the manuscript corrections were also once found in this copy.

a4, l. 11: Alph - k*; EG ph^r (for Ferdinandum)⁸ - abcdefhlmnop

upon her own full knowledge of this text. Dr. Schullian has in preparation a critical edition of the *Diaria* together with an English translation, which will present the text in a definitive form. This copy will be listed as incunabula no. 97 in Dr. Schullian's forthcoming *Catalogue of Incunabula and Manuscripts in the Army Medical Library* (at press).

⁷ Curiously enough this is the only instance where a misprint was set aright both by means of stop-press and of manuscript correction. In the cases of the other variant readings, the printed errors have not been corrected by hand in the pertinent copies.

⁸ The printed text refers to "Alphonsum et Elisabetham Hispaniae reges." The King of Spain at that time was, of course, Ferdinand the Catholic; this explains the necessity for the manuscript correction.

- a6, l. 13: decreuisse - k* ; EG decreuisse ? - abcdefhlmnop
 16: foedera - k* ; EG foederae - abcdefhlmnop
- a8^v, ll. 10/11: se||sedem - k*o se (deleted) - abcdefhlmnop
- b1, l. 2: Temporariū - k*o ; E Teporariū - abcdefhlmnop ; G
 l. 4: adeo - hiklop ; E à deo - abcdefmn ; G
- b4^v, ll. 1-5 uncorrected - see below - k* ; DE
 corrected - see below - abcdefghlmnop ; G
- c5^v, l. 2: Angelo scti angeli - ko
 Angelo de scto angelo⁹ - abcdefhilmnop ; DEG
- d1, l. 6: capte - abcdflop capti - eh ; EG
- e1, l. 22: Tortonam¹⁰ - k* ; EG Dertonam - abcdefhlmnop
 l. 24: soederatis - k* foederatis - abcdefhlmnop ; EG
- e6^v, l. 12: sueuorum - k sueuorum - abcdefhilmnop ; EG
- g5, last line: diribitorium - k* distributorium¹¹ - abcdefhlmnop ; EG
- g6, l. 13: seditionémq ; - k seditionéq ; - abcdefhilmnop ; EG
- h3^v, l. 9: prætentarūt - k ; G nunciarunt - abcdefhilmnop¹²
- i1^v, l. 13: restitueret ac - k* ; DE
 reuocaret restitueretq ; - abcdefhilmnop ; G
- i2^v, l. 1: noluerit - ko ; E nolueritis¹³ - abcdefhilmn ; D

⁹ Angelo de Sancto Angelo was a Venetian of some distinction and appears frequently in the diary of Marino Sanuto (Venice, F. Visentini, 1879-1903).

¹⁰ Tortona is the Italian name for the city, while Dertona is the correct Latin form. In some copies the name appears to be emended to Dartona.

¹¹ Emendation is uncertain; this reading is supported by Eckhart and Giustiniano. Domenichi (*op. cit.*, f. 45^v) has: "Elle [le lettere] diceuano, come i Proueditori s'erano lamentati, che .CC. huomini d'arme delle genti Milanese contra il uolere del generale s'erano partiti per difetto di dinari & che assaissimi fanti Vinitiani hauuta la paga s'erano fuggiti."

¹² In many cases the "praetentarunt" is heavily obliterated and the "nunciarunt" difficult to read. Eckhart (II: 1622), taking his editorial duties lightly, made no attempt to discover what Aldus had in mind and resorted to the simple expedient of printing a series of dashes.

¹³ This emendation was quite unclear to me until suggested as a possible reading by Dr. Schullian, even though this correction is not in the Army Medical Library's copy! Eckhart reproduced the text as it was originally printed and Giustiniano has "volueritis." This leaf is wanting in the Library of Congress copy.

6 Gallus interea Senas uenit: & a factiosis ci-
uibus in urbem exceptus est. & arcem occu-
pauit. ^u deinde ad Calendas Iunias Romam
uenit. Amissa opportunitate frustratus intacta
tm Roma, Pisas uenit. ubi genuenses a fide Lu-
douici ducis & quasdam trāspadanas urbes a-
uertere conatus est. ut liberam abeundi potesta-
tem haberet. Quod cum impetrare nequī-
ret: uiam saltem sibi ferro aperiendam esse pro-
posuit. Spem dabat celeritatis fiducia: ac segni-
or (ut sperabat) sociorum expeditio. Tum Au-
riliensem ducem qui haste alpium fauces custo-
diebat, excitauit. ut iure hæreditario res medio-
lanenses turbaret opem protinus laturus. Is no-
uarienses quosdam optimates ut in Ludoui-
cum cōspirarent effecit: Forte mediolanenses
milites ad custodiendos ditionis suæ terminos
missi fuerant. Hos Auriliēsis dux interceptit:
protinusq; in urbem Nouariam. iiii. Idus Ju-
nias exceptus est a ciuibus quos clandestinis
consiliis sibi conciliauerat. cum eo eqtes. D. ar-
mati erant. Peditum. viii. millia. Paucisq; die-
bus arcem male munitam occupauit. Pauor
ingens Ludouicum Ducem ne imperium subito

Analyses

Turning first to the stop-press corrections we find on d7 verso that the text in the earlier version reads:¹⁴

Legati Veneti cognita tandem hostium fuga convocatis Ducibus eos fugientes persequi statuerunt ac ad incessendos à tergo remorandosque Petrum Duodum Praefectum militum Graecorum levis armaturae cum equitibus suis ac comitem Acaiazanum cum Italis leviter armatis.

Since Piero Duodo was one of the Venetian officers in charge of the fierce Albanian *stradiotti* and the Count of Caiazzo was the chief Milanese officer, it is clear that the legates planned something for them to do on behalf of the League—but *what* is not exactly clear from this text. When Aldus realized that a verb was wanting after “ac,” he stopped the press, supplied “miseruntque” for “ac” and made the necessary modifications in order to fit this word into the lines. It thus becomes clear that at this stage of the battle of Fornovo (July, 1495), Duodo and Caiazzo were sent to assist those harassing the French from the rear. The purpose of the stop-press corrections thus becomes perfectly evident.

The manuscript corrections on b4 verso, in turn, can only be satisfactorily explained by means of the illustration provided herewith. According to the text as originally printed, Charles VIII (who was travelling North from Naples for his encounter with the army of the League upon the banks of the river Taro) proceeded from Naples to Siena, from there to Rome and thence to Pisa—geographically a most curious way to travel North. The manuscript marks, however, indicate that the text should be read probably in this fashion:

[Rex] Gallus interea ad Calendas Iunias Romam uenit. Amissa opportunitate frustratus intacta Roma, Senas uenit: & a factiosis ciuibus in urbem exceptus est. & arcem occupauit. Pisas deinde uenit. . . .

Other contemporary accounts (such as those supplied by Fran-

¹⁴ For the sake of clarity, the spelling and capitalization have been given in modern form.

cesco Guicciardini and Philippe de Comines)¹⁵ and modern historical studies¹⁶ prove that Charles left Naples on May 21, entered Rome on June 1, arrived at Siena on June 13, and that he left that city on June 17 for Pisa which he seems to have entered two days later. It is clear that the text as printed was altogether too incorrect for Aldus to accept and that he was thus obliged to make the manuscript emendations in thirteen of the copies examined, possibly in *all* the paper examples consulted.

So much for the stop-press and manuscript corrections in the various copies of this book. Certain further deductions may perhaps be ventured. For example, the British Museum vellum copy (C. 8. h. 14) presents a text incorporating all the stop-press corrections. This indicates that the printing of the vellum leaves was accomplished after at least a majority of the paper copies had been produced. This is shown by the stop-press emendation on g7 where eleven of the fourteen paper copies preserve the misprint; the vellum copy, of course, has the emended text.¹⁷

It should furthermore be pointed out that the Museum's vellum copy was probably the presentation copy to the Admiral Melchior Trevisano, one of the chief officers of the Venetian

¹⁵ Compare Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia* (Pisa, Niccolò Capurro, 1822-1824), I: 297 ff., and De Comines, *Mémoires* (English version by Thomas Danett, London, Samuel Mearne, 1674), pp. 286-290.

¹⁶ John A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy: The Age of the Despots* (London, John Murray, 1934), pp. 451-453, and *The Cambridge Modern History* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1902-1912), I: 115-116. See especially H. Fr. Delaborde, *L'Expédition de Charles VIII en Italie* (Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1888), pp. 611-620.

¹⁷ I have a notation to the effect that in four copies (Ambrosiana, Casanatense, and Vatican) the misprint "ffuuiorum" on signature *er*^v, line 9, has been reset to read correctly "fluuiorum." There is a grave doubt in mind, however, that this is actually the case and it is quite impossible, for obvious reasons, to verify the matter now. It is likely that my eye slipped, when examining these copies, to line 6 on the same page where "fluuiorum" appears correctly. If this correction is actually present in the four copies, it represents another stop-press emendation. If this be true, it also proves that the vellum copy in the British Museum was printed after the majority of the paper copies had been printed but that still others were produced after the vellum leaves had gone through the press.

forces at the battle of Fornovo.¹⁸ This copy contains no manuscript corrections, perhaps because Aldus feared that they might disfigure the vellum leaves. Allowance must therefore be made for the many cases where this vellum copy is the only example exhibiting no manuscript corrections.

One further point of historical value—if of no bibliographical significance—is that the presence (or absence) of certain manuscript emendations may indicate when a particular copy was sold. The fact that not all corrections are found in every copy may indicate that misprints were eliminated as they were discovered. It may, therefore, be argued that those copies lacking certain manuscript alterations were perhaps sold by Aldus before the slips requiring these emendations came to his attention. However, it may also be argued that the absence of a manuscript correction may be due to simple negligence at the press. At the present stage of our investigations into Aldus' methods of publication, it would not be advisable to show a preference for either of these arguments, though it should be borne in mind that both these possibilities provide satisfactory explanations for the absence of manuscript corrections in some copies.

¹⁸ The arms of the Trevisano family appear in the lower margin of folio 2 verso.

Early Primers for the Use of Children

By CHARLES C. BUTTERWORTH

WHEN the Book of Hours was published for English readers, and had come to be translated little by little out of Latin into their own tongue, it was known as the Primer. The origin of this term is obscure. As early as the days of Wycliffe, when English Primers first became known, it had been discovered that they were particularly well adapted to teaching children how to read.¹ One of the first to remark on this as a likely derivation of the name was Bishop Hilsey, in 1539, who says in the prologue to *The Manual of prayers/ or the prymer in Englysh & Laten* (STC 16009) that he called it a Manual—

... because it is so commonly had in hande wyth the people, which before was called the prymer, bycause (I suppose) yt it is the fyrst boke that ye tender youth was instructed in.

All in all, the Bishop's conjecture is as plausible as any other, though it is certain that the term was applied to smaller manuals of devotion, like his own, that were not specially designed for the use of children.

After the advent of printing, at least by the time of Sir Thomas More, it appears that other little handbooks were being printed known as ABC's, intended to be of assistance in mastering both the alphabet and the rudiments of religion, such as the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and certain graces before and after meals. These were not strictly Primers since they did not contain the Hours of the Virgin, Litany, Dirge, Psalms, etc. In his

¹ See, for example, a manuscript Primer reproduced in G. A. Plimpton, *The Education of Chaucer Illustrated from the Schoolbooks in Use in his Time* (London & New York, Oxford University Press, 1935); also M. Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible* (Cambridge, Eng., Cambridge University Press, 1920), pp. 190, 222 note, 337, 338.

"Confutation of Tyndale's Answer" (STC 18079), after alluding to the writings of Robert Barnes, More continues:

Then haue we farther yet besyde Barns boke, the a b c for chyl dren. And bycause there is no grace therin/ lest we shold lakke prayours, we haue the prym-er, and the ploughmans prayour, and a boke of other small deuocions, . . .

According to Hoskins,² one of the earliest Primers to include an alphabet in its preliminary material was printed in Paris for Francis Byrckman, a London bookseller, at the beginning of 1514 (STC 15916). The bulk of its contents was still in Latin, of course. In another Primer published by Robert Wyer of London in 1533 (STC 15983) we have for the first time "A lessyon for chyl dren" set forth in English, comprising three brief paragraphs on God, man, and obedience, the last of which reads:

And than when the tyme commeth, that he shall gyue hym to any maner estate/ he shall say. Lorde graunt vs to knowe, the way & estate/ in ye whiche we ought to walke, & to lyue/ in shewynge vs alwayes ye wayes & maner to folowe the.

The next year, 1534, Primers began to be published in London entirely in English or in both Latin and English. The first of these to contain an alphabet for the use of children was the one published in 1536 by John Gough in Latin and English (STC 15992). The customary cross preceded the alphabet. This volume also contained "A Dialoge of crysten lyuinge wherin the Childe asketh certayne questyons/," etc. Actually the child is asked the questions, and the whole feature is an early form of catechism borrowed from the Marshall and Godfray Primers of the preceding year (1535), except that Gough also incorporates two of the paragraphs found in the Wyer Primer mentioned above.

Of the little ABC books the first that has come down to us after four centuries is a booklet of eight unsigned leaves published

² Edgar Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis or Sarum and York Primers with Kindred Books*, etc. (London, Longmans, Green, 1901).

about 1538 by Thomas Petyt (STC 19). So trivial did such publications seem, both to the publishers and the owners, that many were doubtless destroyed. There is evidence of this carelessness in the item before us. The title (which, by the way, is wrongly cited in the STC) is at the top of the first leaf, without border, and reads: "¶The. B A C bothe in latyn and in Englysshe." Below it is printed the alphabet with a cross at the beginning and the words "est Amen" at the end—which I take to be equivalent to "So be it." Next is a list of vowels and their various combinations with the consonants, from *ab eb ib*, etc., down to *ug* and *gu*. This is followed by the Paternoster, Ave, and Creed, first in Latin and then in English. One curious feature of the booklet is a collection of Latin phrases from the service-books, commencing with *Confitemini* and furnished with the quaint heading: "To helpe a prest to syng." This was probably a direction to the child to coöperate in the rendition of the service.

The rest of the booklet is given over to sundry graces and rhymes of religious import. One of the best-known graces begins, "The eyes of euery thyng do loke vp/ and they hope in the good lorde/ & thou gyuest them theyr fode in tyme conuenient," and ends, "The kynge of eternall glory make vs to be pertenars [i.e., *partners*] of the celestyall mele. Amen." There are special graces for Easter and "for fysshe dayes." At the end of the booklet, after a rhymed synopsis of the Ten Commandments, cardinal sins, etc., comes the colophon, which is no more careful than the title:

Thus endeth the. A B C translated out of Laten to to Englysshe [*sic*] with other deuoute Prayers.

¶Imprynted at London in Paules Chyrcheyarde at the sygne of the maydens heed by thomas Petyt.

Bishop Hilsey seems to have hoped that his *Manual* (1539) would become a sort of authorized Primer, but its vogue was short-lived amid the political and religious tensions of the peri-

od. About September of the same year, another Primer was published by John Mayler for John Wayland (STC 16011) with the following elaborate title:

¶The Primer in English moste necessary for the educacyon of chyldren extracted oute of the Manuall of prayers or Primer in Englishe and laten, set forth by Iho. laet byshop of Rochester, at the commaundement of the ryght honorable, Lord Thomas Crumwell, lorde priuie seale, Vicegerent to the Kynges hyghnes.

After the almanac, which begins with 1539, and the calendar of saints' days with their lessons, we come upon the alphabet printed twice, first in small letters, then in capitals; then the vowels in combination as in STC 19. At the end of the first alphabet is the word "est" but no Amen. The wording of the graces conforms to that in Hilsey's Primer; the one given above now begins: "The eyes of all thynges loke vp and wayte vpon the (O lord)." But except for the fact that this Primer is not as full as Hilsey's and is printed in larger type, there are few indications that it was specially designed for children.

One point of interest is the wording of the sixth of "The seuen peticyons of the Pater noster" which reproduces the wording as given in the Hilsey Primer (STC 16009), namely, "And let vs not be led into temptation." This appears to have been an approved reading, perhaps prescribed by Convocation about 1538, since the earliest use of it is in the Redman Primer published at the end of that year (STC 16008). The rendering reflects a theological doctrine concerning temptation which was current at the time; and the fact that there is a trace of this same idea in the rendering given in the ABC printed by Petyt (STC 19), where it reads, "And let vs not be ouercom by temptacyon," is one reason for supporting the date of 1538 assigned to this ABC.

During the early 1540's there were possibly one or two other Primers which included an alphabet as part of their preliminary equipment. One very unusual item, not listed in the *Short-title*

Catalogue, and now owned by C. A. Stonehill, Esq., is a booklet of four small leaves printed by Richard Lant without date, having the following title:

The a b c || with the *Pater noster* || *Aue/ Credo/* and .x. || commaundementes in En-||glysshe || newly translated and || set forth at the kynges || most gracyouse com-||maunde-||ment.

¶Printed at London in the || Old bayly by Richard Lant

On the reverse of the title-page are printed five alphabets in several styles, with "Est. Amen" at the end of two of them. The wording of the sixth petition is the approved reading as given above. In fact, the phrasing used in the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments, which are said to be "newly translated," agrees altogether with that given in a Primer printed by Thomas Petyt and bearing the date of 1541 (STC 16020), and this fact confirms what is known of the publications of Richard Lant in establishing the date of this tiny ABC as approximately 1542.

In 1545, Henry VIII authorized an edition of the Primer (STC 16034) which was to supersede all other English Primers. In connection with this Primer of Henry VIII, as it is called, we come upon the statement by historians that the King also authorized an ABC for children. The only booklet now preserved that in any way corresponds to such an edition is the ABC printed at London by William Powell without date (STC 20). It consists of eight unsigned leaves, and has the following title:

The A.B.C || set forthe by the Kynges maiestie || and his Clergye, and commaun-||ded to be taught through out all his || Realme. All other vtterly set apart || as the teachers thereof tender || his graces fauour.

The title is without border, and below it are printed three alphabets with "Est. Amen" at the end of the last.

If this is indeed the "authorized" ABC, as the title sturdily proclaims, it is a curious compilation, and is to be dated doubtless in the year 1545. The wording of the Lord's Prayer and of the graces conforms to the wording in the Primer of Henry VIII,

but on the reverse side of fol. 4 the invocation reads: "God saue the Church, our kyng Queene & the Realme, & god haue mercy upon al christen soules. Amen." The Queen referred to is undoubtedly Catherine Parr. Immediately afterward we come upon a version of Psalm 130, including the unusual turn of phrase (verse 5), "My soule hath abyden in his word." The Psalm is not given in the Primer of Henry VIII. After this, in the ABC, come a few snatches of Latin, starting with *Confitemini* as in STC 19. Then beginning on fol. 6, in a smaller font of type, we find a section with the heading, "[[These questions the master ought to demaunde and to lerne his scolers." The ensuing catechism turns out to be taken over intact from the Gough Primer (STC 15992) or from some later reprint of it. The ABC ends with a prayer to the Trinity and more graces, including one that begins: "Nowe you haue well refreshed your bodies, remembre the lamentable afflictions," etc. The colophon follows an invocation:

God save the Kynge || the Queene and the Realme, || and send vs peace in Christ || Amen.

[Imprinted at London by || Wyllyam Powell.

In November, 1538, Henry had issued a proclamation concerning the importation of printed books and other matters touching on the growth of "sondry contentions and synyster opinyons" within his realm (STC 7790). One item provided that Thomas Becket, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, was no longer to be venerated as a saint and that his name should be stricken from the church calendar. This prohibition remained in force until the coming of Queen Mary to the throne in 1553, when St. Thomas of Canterbury, martyr, was restored to his accustomed place.

According to Hoskins and the Short-title Catalogue,³ there was a children's Primer published about 1537 with the title: "The pri-||mer in English || for children, || after the || vse of ||

³ STC 16000; see also Hoskins, *op. cit.*, pp. xxviii, liii, 49, 173, 174, and 239, footnote.

Sarum." If the date assigned had been correct, this would have been the earliest children's Primer extant, earlier even than Petyt's ABC. But the facts indicate a much later date. Faced with the evidence that this Primer (STC 16000) listed the name of "Thomas martyr" in the accustomed place of the calendar, December 29, Hoskins assumed that it had been published earlier than 1538, the date of the King's proclamation. He notes as an innovation that this Primer also contained a collect for "S. Thomas archebishop of Canterburie" among the Lauds. This collect, which commences, "By the bloud of Thomas which for thee he did spende," was an English version of a Latin collect appearing in the Primers of the early sixteenth century. Hoskins also notes that in its graces STC 16000 (Hoskins No. 131) agrees verbally with the wording of the Primer of Henry VIII. It contains, for instance, the approved reading of the sixth petition in the Paternoster, "And let vs not be ledde into temptation."

All this poses the dilemma, either of assigning a date earlier than 1538 on the assumption that the authorized Primer of Henry VIII went back to this children's Primer and borrowed its wording of prayers and graces, or of assigning it to a date in the reign of Queen Mary, in which case the authorized Primer (STC 16034) would have come first by some ten years.

Now it happens that there is in the Morgan Library in New York City a copy of another children's Primer published in 1556 with the title, "The pry-||mer in Englyshe || for children, after the vse of || Salisbu-||rye." This is listed in STC as 16075 and in Hoskins as 222*. Examination reveals that it is a close counterpart of STC 16000 in every way: the same number of leaves (A-K⁸ with J omitted, of course); the same arrangement of materials; the same wording of specific passages; the same omissions and idiosyncracies. The chief points of divergence are in the wording of the title, one using "Salisbury" and the other "*Sarum*"; in the title-page border, which in STC 16000 is that

listed in McKerrow and Ferguson⁴ as No. 33, and in STC 16075 is No. 69, but with the base compartment inverted; and in the reverse of the title-page, which in STC 16075 contains a brief table of contents and an almanac for three years beginning with 1556, but in STC 16000 is blank. Also there is a colophon in STC 16075 (fol. K8) which is lacking in the other Primer: "¶Imprynted at London || M. D. L. vi."

Each Primer prints four alphabets on fol. A5. The fonts used are not the same, and STC 16075 has an "Est Amen" at the end of the first alphabet, which the other Primer has not. Both use the same wording in the Lord's Prayer, except that STC 16075 prints the line correctly, "as it is in heauen," while STC 16000 leaves out the "is," and uses "So be it" at the close, where STC 16075 has "Amen." Apart from such small variations, the two Primers agree page for page, and often line for line. STC 16075 prints the identical collect for St. Thomas of Canterbury; omits the same clauses in the version of the 19th Psalm (which, by the way, is not drawn from the Primer of 1545, but from an earlier one of 1536); follows the Primer of Henry VIII in the wording of the graces; and in general gives everything just as it is given in STC 16000. Both use "our Lord" where the Primer of Henry VIII had "the Lord."

It can be established beyond much question that STC 16075 is indebted for its material not only to the authorized Primer of 1545 but also to the ABC book printed by William Powell (STC 20) or some lost later reprint of that. It gives the same version of Psalm 130, for example, and in the same location. The invocation at the end of one of the graces now omits the Queen, and reads: "God saue the churche oure kynge and Realme, and God haue mercy vpon al Christen soules. Amen." The fact that this little Primer of 1556 mentions no Queen may import that it was

⁴ R. B. McKerrow & F. S. Ferguson, *Title-page Borders Used in England & Scotland, 1485-1640* (London, Printed for the Bibliographical Society at the Oxford University Press, 1932 [for 1931]).

taken from a lost edition put out in the reign of Edward VI.

As to which of these two children's Primers is the earlier, there is not much conclusive evidence, but such as there is leads to the conclusion that the 1556 edition came first. It has the almanac and the more accurate printing. It has also one earmark of an earlier state: On the reverse of fols. A5 and A7, the running-head in STC 16075 reads "The Letanie" although the text of the Litany does not appear until the end of the Primer; but in STC 16000 the running-head on these pages has been corrected to "The A. B. C."

If we accept the conclusions dictated by these shreds of evidence, then STC 16000 was printed about 1557 instead of 1537, and reflected certain elements of Catholic usage such as the worship of Thomas of Canterbury and the use of "our Lord." Its resemblance to the outlawed Primer of Henry VIII in certain respects, such as in the mention of the King instead of the Queen, seems to reflect the custom of printers to print what was put before them. Mr. F. S. Ferguson, a leading authority on the imprints of that period, tells me that he is inclined to the opinion that STC 16075 was printed by John Day, and the other Primer, STC 16000, probably by John Kingston, who used the title-border No. 33 with a blank slot in the sill during the 1550's. He adds that there may have been good reasons why neither Day nor Kingston would have let his name appear in an English Primer during Mary's reign.

Joel Munsell: Printer and Bibliographer*

By DAVID S. EDELSTEIN

“TO prevent all future disputes, and that the place of my birth may not be made the subject of contentions, I deem it necessary to mention that this little village [Northfield, Massachusetts] is entitled to all the honor of that event.” So did Joel Munsell, with all the self-consciousness of his twenty years, write in an autobiographical sketch preceding his diary, begun on May 19, 1828. As an afterthought, he later interpolated in a smaller hand, “The fate of poor Dante should forewarn all geniuses to have the place of their nativity on record.”¹ Munsell need have had no such fear, for it is duly recorded in Northfield’s town records, which are still in existence, that Joel, the son of Cynthia and Joel Munsell, was born on April 14, 1808.²

Joel Munsell was descended from Thomas Munsell, who is believed to have settled in New London, Connecticut, in 1680. For generations the Munsells were farmers in the Connecticut River Valley in the township of Windsor. There, in the course of a motor trip, I found the graves of countless Munsells, some of whom had fought in the French and Indian and the Revolutionary Wars. None of them, however, had risen to any distinction before Joel Munsell.

His father, Joel Munsell, Senior, had left the family farm in

* Read at the meeting of the Society in New York, January 28, 1949.

¹ Joel Munsell, *Diary*, 1828-1834 (New York, The New-York Historical Society), I: 10.

² Northfield, Massachusetts, Record of Births, Marriages, Deaths, and Intentions, Book B, 1722-1842 (in possession of the Town Clerk of Northfield, Massachusetts).

1806 and had gone up the Connecticut River Valley to Northfield, Massachusetts, close to the New Hampshire and Vermont borders, where he settled as a wagon-maker. The town, since famous as the home of Dwight Moody, the evangelist, who established various schools there, was then a rural hamlet of 1,000 people. Joel Munsell, Jr., the first of seven children, described his childhood in these terms:

To pass over my infancy which was remarkable for little else than a petulant, mischievous propensity, I came to the age of nine. Hitherto, however, I forgot to say, I had discovered a readiness to learn that did me some credit and it was at this period that my fondness for study began to abate. I had acquired a penchant for rambling and orchard robbing that made confinement in a schoolroom extremely irksome. As the calling of my father did not permit of my assistance at that age, I had no calls for labor except the simple toil of weeding a garden, or some equally light tasks; and even those were dreaded. My fondness for play reigned predominant, and the mere name of "work" or school was associated in my mind with everything to be avoided. The frequent castigation I underwent for playing truant, did not in the least prevent a repetition of it, but rather tended to heighten my disgust for school. I found accomplice in one Prior, who my superior in years was also superior in knavery and had an admirable tact [?] of freeing himself from merited punishment when detected, and not infrequently at my expense. . . . By the time I reached my twelfth year, I had pretty much divested myself of parental authority. . . . In company with Prior continually, time was divided between fishing and robbing orchards and committing other depredations upon property of the honest farmers in the neighborhood. When unsuccessful in a fishing excursion, we generally turned our sports to mischief, and this was carried on to such a length that we had become famous as marauders, and were indeed the terror of all the agriculturists in that vicinity.³

With the removal of his friend from the town, Joel returned to his books for two years. At fourteen, he left school to work for his father. At seventeen, in spite of parental objection, he departed for Greenfield, Massachusetts, where he became apprenticed in the printing plant of the local newspaper. He quickly learned to set type and to run the press so that in less than a year, when the foreman left his job, Joel succeeded him. He re-

³ Munsell, *Diary*, I: 10, 11.

mained in Greenfield another year, when an opportunity presented itself for him to go to Albany.

In Albany, nineteen-year-old Munsell, while working for the *National Observer*, published by Solomon Southwick, conceived and carried into execution the idea of issuing his own newspaper, *The Albany Minerva*. With some second-hand type he managed to acquire, and with permission to use the presses of *The Masonic Record*, a newspaper for which he had also been employed, Munsell, acting as reporter, editor, compositor, pressman, and proprietor, managed to get out an eight-page paper twice a month for three months for his 150 subscribers. However, as the work proved too arduous to continue, in addition to his other employment, he was forced to give it up.

Thereafter Munsell worked in various printing plants in Albany, and, during his wandering years, in Hartford, New Haven, and Boston. By attending lectures and by wide reading, he succeeded in rounding out his education. With the aid of a tutor, he even managed to learn Latin. He also learned how to read French, Spanish, and later, Dutch.

In 1834, at the age of 26, in partnership with one Henry Stone, he bought *The Albany Microscope* and its printing plant. The partnership proving an unhappy one, Munsell sold out his share and bought out another printer in 1836. Thereafter, until his death in 1880, he continued an active career as printer, publisher of Americana, bookseller, antiquarian, and, last, but not least, as a bibliographer.

Munsell's importance in the world of books was well established among his contemporaries. Printers, historians, and his fellow citizens of Albany paid tribute to him. The trade journals of his own craft, when noticing his publications, made mention of the excellence of his typography. Individual printers added their praise. H. C. Houghton of the Riverside Press, perhaps the chief exponent of fine printing among the large general printing and

publishing houses of the latter part of the nineteenth century, praised Munsell's ability as a craftsman. He referred to the Albany printer as "one, whose name is already celebrated as a master of the typographic art, and who has besides done so much for the cause of good letters."⁴

Among those who were interested in writing or preserving the materials of American history, Munsell was an honored colleague. George Bancroft corresponded with him. Sixteen historical societies conferred memberships upon him. His books were favorably reviewed in their publications. Librarians respected him and used some of their limited funds to purchase the books he printed. Individual collectors of Americana added Munsell imprints to their shelves. Munsell's failure to obtain financial success from his efforts was due more to the limited number who were interested in Americana than to their failure to patronize him.

In Albany, too, Munsell was respected by a group of citizens who appreciated his work in preserving the history of their city. In 1886, six years after Munsell's death, Albany celebrated the bicentennial of its incorporation as a city. Howell and Tenney's *Bi-Centennial History of Albany*, published that year, paid due tribute to Munsell.⁵ The citizens of Albany, as part of their celebration of the event, erected a bronze tablet at 58 State Street, where Munsell had first begun his work as an independent printer in Old Gable Hall. The tablet read, "In honor of Joel Munsell, Printer of Albany, who, a native of Massachusetts, did more than any other man to preserve the ancient records of his adopted city. Born 1808, died 1880. Here he began his earliest work."

In 1899, the building at 58 State Street was sold and later demolished to make way for the National Commercial Bank and Trust Company office. The tablet was removed and lost. Diligent

⁴ H. C. Houghton to Joel Munsell, April 28, 1874 (in possession of the author).

⁵ George R. Howell and Jonathan Tenney, *Bi-Centennial History of Albany* (Albany, W. W. Munsell & Co., 1868), p. 368.

search on the part of Emma Munsell Hevenor, last surviving child of Joel Munsell, failed to uncover it. The loss of this marker seemed to symbolize the obscurity into which Munsell's fame and reputation sank. Thereafter, printers, publishers, and historians rarely referred to Munsell either in their speeches or in their writings. Beyond the few brief articles appearing in historical society publications at his death, no further serious study of his career was ever made. In the past decade, several students of the history of typography began to call attention to Munsell. In 1938, Ruth S. Granniss, then Librarian of The Grolier Club, wrote in her article "Modern Fine Printing" in *A History of the Printed Book* that "The labors during forty years of Joel Munsell of Albany as printer, publisher, antiquarian, collector, and author of books about printing, have too little been appreciated."⁶ It remained for Professor Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt of Columbia University, authority on nineteenth-century book production in the United States, to discuss in *The Book in America* (New York, R. R. Bowker Co., 1939) Munsell's rôle in that field.

Joel Munsell's career, however, deserves greater attention than such brief notices. The story of the rise and decline of the Munsell firm is itself worthy of study as a record of American business history of the nineteenth century. During a period of over half a century, Munsell turned out a variety of printed material that included almost every type of reading matter available to the reader of his day. That the presses of a printer in a small American city were capable of producing such a vast quantity of printed material is almost unbelievable. Pamphlets, catalogues, books, and newspapers were produced in the same plant that printed circulars, business cards, letterhead stationery, and "to let" notices.

From the history of the Munsell press, there emerges a pic-

⁶ Ruth S. Granniss, *Modern Fine Printing*, in: Lawrence Wroth, ed., *History of the Printed Book*, Dolphin no. 3 (New York, Limited Editions Club, 1938), pp. 274, 275.

ture of business methods of the times. The leisurely pace of business negotiations, the lengthy extension of credit, and the personal attention to a multitude of minor matters are characteristic. The many catalogues and price lists printed by the Munsell firm, and its surviving business documents, give insight into the cost of printing and the price of printed matter. More important are the evidences of growing industrialization of an old craft and the increasing specialization in its various branches. When Munsell began his career, it was normal for a printer to attempt anything from a handbill to a newspaper and from a circular to a book on his hand presses. By the end of Munsell's life, newspaper printing had for several decades been a separate enterprise; book printing and publication were rarely hazarded by any but firms whose main activity it was; and the area of the general printer had become more and more circumscribed. The simple flat-bed hand presses upon which Munsell had learned his craft found limited use in competition with high speed, steam-driven, rotary presses.

But Joel Munsell's individual achievements as a typographer and antiquarian single him out from all the printers of his time. Munsell, a commercial printer who had to meet the competition of his rivals, succeeded nevertheless in raising the quality of his printed matter to a level which won him outstanding distinction among his contemporaries. Simplicity of title-pages, in an age given to overelaborateness and affectation, excellence of typesetting, careful presswork, and discriminating choice of paper were characteristics of his work. Busy as he was with the everyday affairs of his printing plant, he yet found time to lavish care and attention on his limited editions of historical works. The genealogical works that he printed tended to raise the standard of production in his day, and his book catalogues were a model of excellence.

So great was Munsell's love for his craft that he felt impelled

to study its historical development. He followed his inclinations by collecting hundreds of volumes relating to printing and bibliographical subjects. He accumulated all sorts of data that were in any way connected with printing. His *Typographical Miscellany*, his unpublished work in American newspaper history, and his many volumes of notebooks are storehouses of information on typographical subjects. Munsell's keen interest in the improvement of his art led him ultimately to become a leader in the Romantic revival of typography in the United States, and it was in his shop that the first nineteenth-century American book in Caslon type was printed.

Munsell's career gives testimony to what the ingenuity of a publisher in a small city could accomplish in the nineteenth century. Textbooks, popular tales, and almanacs were the usual stock in trade. Munsell, however, achieved distinction in his ability to produce small, well-printed editions of scholarly works on local history and on the history of the nation in the colonial and Revolutionary War periods. He rescued many early records from oblivion. He encouraged authors to write their accounts. He made an effort to create a public that would patronize such works. He urged librarians to purchase them. Financial losses did not discourage him. He devoted his time and substance to putting into print the early records of his country.

From publishing Americana he was led to becoming its bookseller. He personally collected thousands of volumes of genealogical works, town and local history, and other works on American history. These he acquired through his relations with other publishers and booksellers. By circular, subscription list, and personal letter, by exchange, and finally through auction sale, he disposed of many thousands of volumes of his own publications and those of other publishers. Through his relations with the leading purchasers of Americana, he helped build some of the outstanding collections.

Joel Munsell had come a long way from the time when, as a young man fresh from a rural hamlet, he had begun his work as a printer's apprentice in Greenfield, to the end of his life, when, respected by printers and historians, he was borne to rest in Albany, the city he had served so well. By dint of hard work and application, he established a considerable business enterprise. As a result of his love for his craft and his interest in its history and its advancement, he became the outstanding American printer of his day. His antiquarian inclinations led him to make significant contributions to the advancement of the historical knowledge of his craft, his city, and his country.

Mention has already been made of Munsell's typographic efforts because of his keen interest in his craft. A few highlights may be added. Munsell was the first American to write on the history of paper. His *Chronology of Paper and Paper Making* had five editions in his own lifetime. In 1861 he published the first American edition of Richard de Bury's *Philobiblon*, that famous treatise on the love of books first written in 1345. When the New-York Historical Society decided to publish Benson J. Lossing's memoir of Alexander Anderson, the famous wood engraver, Munsell was called in as printer. As Evert Duyckinck helped to furnish factual materials and engravings, this work brought together four famous figures of the book world: Anderson, the wood engraver; Duyckinck, editor and publisher; Lossing, engraver, publisher, and historian; and Joel Munsell. In 1875, after more than five years of effort, Munsell brought to a conclusion the printing of the second edition of Isaiah Thomas' famous *History of Printing in America* for which he himself wrote some of the notes.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Wittinghams of London revived the English typography of the preceding century. Their book, *The Diary of Lady Willoughby*, printed in 1844, made typographic history as the first nineteenth-century book in

Caslon type. Munsell, aware of these movements in Europe, imported a font of Caslon type and thus became the first American printer to use it for book publication. His *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket*, printed in 1856, is the American counterpart of *The Diary of Lady Willoughby*. His ten-volume *Munsell's Historical Series*, begun the next year, were all printed in the same style.

Munsell's customers, for his historical series and others, reads like a *Who's Who* of American collectors. John Carter Brown, James Lenox, William Menzies, Samuel L. M. Barlow, J. Carson Brevoort, John B. and Charles C. Moreau, T. Bailey Myers, George Livermore, Francis S. Hoffman, Gordon L. Ford, and Henry C. Murphy were among those included.

And now to refer to matters more strictly bibliographical. In his relation with schools, colleges, and religious institutions, Munsell received frequent orders for catalogues of the contents of libraries. Thereafter, as his personal collection of books grew, he also printed catalogues of the books in his possession that he offered for sale. His years of experience as a printer of book catalogues drew the attention of professional booksellers so that, after 1850, another of Munsell's pamphlet specialties became the printing of booksellers' catalogues. The list of his customers included some of the most famous names in the annals of the trade, especially the dealers in Americana. His earlier customers were local Albany firms such as Little and Company. In 1856 he began a long association with William Gowans of New York which lasted until the latter's death. Gowans' disciple, E. W. Nash, continued to have his catalogues printed in Munsell's shop through the 1870's. J. W. Bouton and Company and Bangs, Merwin and Company, both of New York, were steady customers. Leonard and Company of Boston; White, Pfister and Company of Montgomery, Alabama; and George P. Philes of New York occasionally patronized Munsell. Samuel G. Drake, of

Boston, historian and bookseller, became a regular patron in the 1860's. And, more famous than all of these, Joseph Sabin, compiler of the *Dictionary of Books Relating to America*, became a regular patron of Munsell in 1867. So close did their relationship become that in 1868 Munsell printed for Sabin a special catalogue entitled *Recent Publications of J. Munsell, for Sale by J. Sabin and Sons*. On April 26, 1877, Munsell wrote to Nash that he was printing three large catalogues for Sabin, one for Bangs, and one for Nash himself. Occasionally a catalogue was confined to the collection of a single individual. Such was the printing in 1866 of the catalogue of the books of John Gilmary Shea, the historian, and in 1875 the printing for Sabin of the 471-page catalogue of the library of William Menzies, the prominent collector.

Munsell's interest in books about books was reflected in his personal library. By 1856, his collection of books relating to bibliography was sufficient for him to publish a thirty-eight-page *Catalogue of a Bibliographical Library* which he offered for sale in complete form although the prices were listed for individual items. The introduction claimed that it was exceeded in the breadth of its scope only by the collection presented by Dr. Cogswell to the Astor Library. In the collections were catalogues of famous foreign libraries written in French, Italian, and German. Included among these were some rare items on printing such as Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises*, printed in London in 1677, of which, Munsell claimed, the English authority on printing, Hansard, knew of only two copies in England. This collection, containing over a thousand volumes, was purchased intact, as Munsell had hoped, by the New York State Library.⁷

Less extensive in scope than the 1856 catalogue, which jumbled books on typography together with catalogues of various libraries, was the *Catalogue of Books on Printing, and the Kindred Arts*

⁷ Joel Munsell, *Journal*, 1849-1878 (Albany Institute of History and Art), May 17, 1857.

which contained 369 titles in its forty-eight pages, printed in 1868. As these were offered for sale individually, each book was carefully described, in contrast to the brief entries of his earlier catalogues. Books on printing were listed alphabetically but were interspersed with 23 items on copyright, 13 on libel, 17 on "liberty of the press," seven on literary property, and 11 on specimens of type. Although the majority of the titles were in English, again works in Latin, French, Italian, and German were included. Few of the titles in the 1856 catalogue were found in this one, although Munsell had managed apparently to obtain another copy of Moxon's work. Among the famous works listed in the catalogue were Bodoni's *Manuale Tipografico* and a specimen book of the printing types of William Caslon printed in 1764. Among the papers left by Munsell at his death was the beginning of still another catalogue of books on printing where forty titles were listed in his own hand.⁸

To Munsell's list of avocations relating to the graphic arts, that of bibliography must be added. Besides his work in preparing catalogues and indexes and classifying clippings, he prepared a list of his imprints up to the year 1870 under the title *Bibliotheca Munselliana. A Catalogue of the Books and Pamphlets Issued from the Press of Joel Munsell, from the year 1828 to 1870*. Only twenty copies were printed, according to Munsell,⁹ at a

⁸ Joel Munsell, *Miscellaneous Notes on Printing and Journalism* (American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.).

⁹ Frank Munsell to Leonard L. Mackall, May 22, 1916. Letter tipped into American Antiquarian Society copy. Frank Munsell claimed that only twenty copies were printed, and it is so stated on catalogue cards of libraries possessing copies. Joel Munsell once stated in a letter to Justin Winsor that he printed "but a dozen." It is probable that there were a few more than the twenty as the author has located twenty copies in the following places: American Antiquarian Society (interleaved and annotated), Boston Public Library, Brooklyn Public Library, John Carter Brown Library, Columbia University, Library of Congress (two copies), Harvard University, New-York Historical Society, New York Public Library (two copies), New York State Library (two copies), Maine Historical Society, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Historical Society of Wisconsin. Frank J. Scopes, bookdealer, of 59 Maiden Lane, Albany, has two copies; John E. Scopes, bookdealer, of 29 Steuben St., Albany, has one, and the author has one.

cost to him of \$200.¹⁰ As Munsell described it, in sending a copy to Justin Winsor who was then the Superintendent of the Boston Public Library,

It was printed for the purpose of interleaving, with a view to a more complete annotation, the time not having fully come to admit of a free commentary upon the authors and their works. As it is but a skeleton, I did not intend to send it out, but I enclose a copy to you, to occupy a shady corner in your great collection.

Munsell used almost the identical words six months later in sending another copy to Francis S. Hoffman, a collector of Americana who was a favored patron of his.¹¹ Munsell's words must not be taken too literally, for if mere annotation were desired, a manuscript copy would have sufficed. Careful, painstaking Joel Munsell was not one to squander money needlessly. He prepared the list of imprints because it was in his nature to compile catalogues and indexes; he printed it out of the pride he took in the accomplishments of his shop. His fear of being accused of ostentation resulted in his sending out only an occasional copy to old friends who would appreciate the work. Even so, he felt the need to disclaim any showiness by the statement that it was printed merely for interleaving and annotation.

The *Bibliotheca Munselliana*, arranged chronologically by year, contained over 2,000 separate titles. Wherever he still had the information available, and especially for book-length works, the number of copies printed and the number of pages were included. Titles were given in all their fullness. One item printed in 1852 outdid itself even for an age of lengthy titles, with one of over 150 words. Additional information such as the names of editors, the groups before whom speeches and sermons were delivered, and occasionally some account of the events leading to the production of the particular work, were given. Munsell took some

¹⁰ Joel Munsell to Justin Winsor, April 3, 1878. Letter laid in on title-page of *Bibliotheca Munselliana* (Widener Library, Harvard University).

¹¹ Joel Munsell to Francis S. Hoffman, July 23, 1873. Letter tipped into John Carter Brown Library copy of *Bibliotheca Munselliana*.

delight in adding in small type descriptions of the vagaries of some of the crackpot authors of poetry and religious tracts, particularly those who defaulted in payments.

Munsell was aware of the defects of his work. His personal interleaved and annotated copy corrected the typographical errors, but made no serious effort to improve the alphabetical arrangement. Some additional titles were added. Many comments about the authors were added, in some cases giving brief accounts of their lives and in others a sentence or two to identify them. Occasionally, some tale about the origin of the printed work and unusual events concerned with its printing were added.¹² He continued in his efforts to clothe the "skeleton," as he had called it, with more flesh throughout the last decade of his life.¹³

After making due allowances for the sins of omission and commission, while bearing in mind that library science had not yet reached its present state of development in 1872 when the *Bibliotheca Munselliana* was printed, the work of Munsell as a bibliographer is still a noteworthy achievement. Ruth S. Granniss, an authority on fine printing, called it "a model of catalogue printing for its time."¹⁴ He was the first American printer of importance to compile and publish his list of imprints. No printer ever kept such an extensive file of his work.¹⁵ Nor has this achievement been equalled since. Students of the graphic arts have compiled imprint lists of other printers, but no printer or student since Munsell's time has ever prepared and published a list containing over two thousand separate titles produced by a single print shop. Had Munsell been able to keep his list of titles current until the end of his career, while at the same time filling

¹² Joel Munsell, *Bibliotheca Munselliana* (Albany, 1872), *passim*. His personal interleaved and annotated copy is in the American Antiquarian Society Library.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 7, contains an event that took place as late as July 17, 1878.

¹⁴ Ruth S. Granniss, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

¹⁵ The Harmanus Bleecker Library, Albany, New York, has some of Munsell's personal copies of the products of his press between 1837 and 1858 bound in 128 volumes.

omissions in his existing list, the number of items would doubtless have approached three thousand.

In brief, Munsell's work as a catalogue printer, collector of bibliographical works, and as the author of the *Bibliotheca Munselliana*, entitle him to consideration in the first ranks of American bibliographers.

Bibliographical Notes

*The British Museum's Fragment of Lydgate's "Horse, Sheep,
and Goose" Printed by William Caxton*

In a paper which I printed in *The Library* more than a decade ago (4th series, XVII: 154-166 [1936]), I called attention to the fact that the fragment of the first edition of Lydgate's *The Horse, the Sheep, and the Goose* which should have been found in the British Museum was not listed as being there by Seymour de Ricci's *A Census of Caxtons* (London, Bibliographical Society, Illustrated Monograph no. XV [1909], p. 76, no. 69). This fragment formed part of the "find" which William Blades made in the copy of the *Boecius* belonging to the King Edward VI Grammar School at Saint Albans. Since all the other leaves discovered in the binding of that book were credited to the British Museum by the *Census of Caxtons*, it was expected that those from this poem by Dan John Lydgate could also be traced there. In fact, as STC 17018 and Duff 261 correctly indicate, they are indeed preserved in the Museum; however, the particulars one is accustomed to find in de Ricci's great work are not noted in these bibliographies, so that pertinent details may suitably be given here.

The British Museum's fragment (IB 55013) consists of four leaves representing two sheets, the conjugates [a4]-[a5] and [b1]-[b10]. Two leaves, [a4] and [b1], are badly mutilated while [a5] and [b10] are quite perfect. A further examination of these sheets reveals almost certainly why one of them was discarded as printer's waste and possibly why the other was also rejected. The last page, [b10] verso, was intended to be a blank, but not so the complementary one, [b1] recto. This page, however, was also not printed in the leaf under discussion—at least, only a few illegible traces of inked characters (which could be set-offs) are visible. The explanation for this circumstance may well be the following. Although the book is a quarto volume, it seems likely that this particular sheet was printed by half-sheet imposition. After the inner forme of [b1]-[b10] had been printed, the British Museum's sheet was never perfected; possibly it was overlooked, since one of the two pages was a blank anyway.

In any event, an unperfected sheet was quite valueless to the printer and this is evidently the reason why this particular sheet was relegated to the pile of printer's waste. A much less satisfactory explanation is available for the presence of the other sheet among Caxton's discarded material. True enough, the fifth line of the second stanza on the verso of the fourth leaf, line 12 of [a4]^v, contains the misprint "in a baudé" which appears correctly as "in a bande" in the unique copy in the Cambridge University Library. While this slight error *may* have caused Caxton to scrap this sheet as well, it would certainly be an unusual occurrence, for England's first printer was not normally so particular about the presence of minor misprints.

CURT F. BÜHLER

Printing Evidence in Wynkyn de Worde's Edition of "The Life of Johan Picus" by St. Thomas More

A point of considerable interest in the history of early printing is to trace among various printers the adoption and development of single half-sheet imposition. In this connection, negative evidence is as significant as positive in determining the history of the practice. This is the only excuse for the following note concerned with St. Thomas More's *Life of Johan Picus*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde (1510?), a book containing certain evidence which enables us to penetrate its presswork.

A distinction must be drawn between single half-sheet imposition and what may perhaps be called twin half-sheet imposition. The first seems to be the more sophisticated method of printing, and in it the inner and outer formes of a half-sheet are laid together in one full skeleton-forme, the full sheet being printed and perfected from this single forme to create two identical copies of a half-sheet when cut apart. A more primitive way of producing single half-sheets is to cut the paper in half before printing and then to machine these half-sheets by printing with one imposed forme and perfecting with the separately imposed opposite forme. With twin half-sheet imposition two different half-sheets in a book may be printed together by laying their respective inner formes in one full skeleton-forme to print, and then perfecting from a different skeleton-forme containing the two respective outer formes. The divided sheet produces one copy of each half-sheet. Quartos in 6's are good books to use in attacking the problem, for the half-sheet in each gathering must have been printed by one of the above three methods.

More's *Life of Johan Picus* is a quarto collating A-F⁸ G⁴, without head-lines, numeration, or catchwords, but with the first three leaves of each gathering signed. The special evidence alluded to is the appearance in the direction-lines in sigs. A₃, B₃, B₆^v, C₁, D₁, D₃, E₁, F₁, F₃, and G₁ of the abbreviation "Pyc⁹," as a help to the printer or binder in identifying and segregating the sheets.

These sheet identifications may be used to show that de Worde did not adopt the most efficient method of single half-sheet imposition but instead that he imposed and printed half-sheets in the gatherings by the twin half-sheet system, a method requiring a considerably larger amount of standing type. The evidence is very neat. One will observe it is only in the alternate gatherings B, D, and F that two of these direction-words appear, and that in each case (with one exception)¹ the word appears on \$1 and on \$3, that is, on the first page of the full sheet and of the quired half-sheet respectively. Since it is essential to label every *full sheet* printed, this pattern of alternation could not have been effective either for single half-sheet imposition or for printing by cut sheets: in either case the folds of C and of E would have been without identification. On the other hand, if the inner folds of A and B, of C and D, and of E and F had been printed together, inner with inner and outer with outer formes, each sheet containing \$3.4 and '\$3.4 (*i.e.*, A_{3.4} conjunct with B_{3.4}, *etc.*) would have its identification.

This simple evidence, therefore, seems to demonstrate the method used to print *The Life of Johan Picus*, which was not that of single half-sheet imposition. Since the first page of the full and of the half-sheet was chosen on which to set the identification, it is clear that the half-sheet in each gathering is the inner fold and not the outer. Finally, the evidence would seem to indicate that the full sheets of \$ '\$3.4 would be stored, and that the two halves would not be separated until binding was contemplated.

FREDSON BOWERS

Richard Le Gallienne's "Perseus and Andromeda"

The Huntington Library has two issues, or variants, of the 1902 edition, with the statement "First impression October, 1902" on the verso of the title-leaf.

¹ The appearance on B₆^v instead of on B₁ may possibly be explained by the compositor's mistaking the proper quarter of the forme, although the lack of signing should have revealed the error, if error it was. He was not entirely at ease perhaps at the start. The direction-word on A₃ is redundant since one also appears on B₃.

1. Title within a decorated border: Perseus | and Andro-|meda | The Story | Retold | by | Richard | Le Gallienne | [publisher's monogram] | New York | R. H. Russell. | MCMII. | 8vo.

4 p.l., 7-53, [1] p., 6 plates incl. front. Printed on 4 unsigned gatherings of 4, 8, 8, 8 leaves respectively; with sewings following p. [iv], 14, 30, and 46. Collation: half-title, PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA |, p. [i]; blank p. [ii]; title as above, p. [iii]; *Copyright, 1902, by Robert Howard Russell* | First impression October, 1902 |, p. [iv]; *PREFATORY NOTE* |, p. [v]; blank, p. [vi]; *ILLUSTRATIONS* [6 listed] |, p. [vii]; blank, p. [viii]; text, [conventional ornament] | PERSEUS | AND | ANDROMEDA |, p. 7-53, [1]; [signed]: RICHARD LE GALLIENNE. |, p. [54]. From the Romm sale, 4 March 1921, part of lot 395; bound in cream-colored cloth, with title within a circular decoration on the front cover.

2. Title same as no. 1. 8vo.

5 p.l., 7-62, [1] p., 6 plates incl. front. Printed on 6 unsigned gatherings of 4, 8, 8, 4, 4, 4 leaves respectively, with a single leaf following p. [iv], and a single leaf at the end; sewings follow p. [iv], 14, 30, 42, 50, and 58. From the Behymer collection; bound in white buckram, decoration and title on front cover like no. 1. This is the same as no. 1 through p. 36, except a leaf is added following the title-page, with caption: TO A SILENT | NIGHTINGALE. | [all within a floriated border], verso of leaf blank. Two new paragraphs occur, p. 37 and 39: p. 37 a paragraph beginning "Perseus washes his victorious blood-|stained hands in the sea," follows the paragraph ending "a fairer reward?" Lines 2-4 of p. 37 line up differently, line 2 ends "which" in no. 1, and "with" in no. 2. Page 39 a new paragraph, beginning, "As the wine passed from hand to | hand," follows the one ending "such a bride!" (this fills in between the two paragraphs on p. 38 of no. 1).

About 6 pages of new material, p. 43-48, follow the paragraph ending "beneath his busy sword." (on p. 42 of no. 1). Pages 49-56 are line-for-line like p. 43-50 of no. 1. Two pages of new material are added, beginning in the paragraph on p. 57 (p. 51 of no. 1) following the words "usurped his kingdom." Pages 60-61 are line-for-line like p. 52-53 of no. 1. Following the paragraph ending "was worshipped." p. 62 (p. [54] of no. 1) a long paragraph is added, beginning, "There in Chemis—a city ruled | over by the God Pan—is a square en-|closure sacred to Perseus." The final two lines read: So great was his life, that men can-|not believe him dead. | In no. 1 the two lines read: So great had been his life that men |

could not believe him dead. | Also, no. 1 is signed at end: RICHARD LE GALLIENNE.

R. J. C. Lingel, in his *A Bibliographical Checklist of the Writings of Richard Le Gallienne* (Metuchen, N. J., 1926), lists only a 1903 edition, with the same collation as no. 1 above. The 1903 edition is the only one listed in the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, 1940, and in B. D. Cutler and Villa Stiles, *Modern British Authors, Their First Editions* (New York, Greenberg, 1930). The Library of Congress card, 2-26877, collates like no. 1.

H. R. MEAD

James Joyce: Addenda to Alan Parker's Bibliography

The following two hundred James Joyce items were either omitted from Mr. Alan Parker's *James Joyce: A Bibliography of His Writings, Critical Material and Miscellanea* (Boston, The F. W. Faxon Company, 1948), or were incorrectly cited, or have appeared since that book was published. I can no more claim completeness than could Mr. Parker; I merely hope that my list will be helpful to the Joyce scholar, for I have been primarily concerned with critical material, only a few items being otherwise. The bibliographical form here used has been Mr. Parker's. In referring to reviews of books I have given only the name of the author; for example, 'Campbell and Robinson' refers to James Campbell and Henry Morton Robinson's *Skeleton Key to 'Finnegans Wake'* (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1944), and 'Kain' refers to Richard M. Kain's *Fabulous Voyager: James Joyce's 'Ulysses'* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1947). All such books are in Mr. Parker's list or in mine; where authors (such as Gorman) have written more than one book on Joyce, both author and title are cited. Most of the items in my compilation I have been able to verify; for those I have not been able to check I have relied on the bibliographical sources at hand and have given as complete data as have been available.

I am indebted to Professor Joseph Prescott of Wayne University and to Mr. John J. Slocum, of Tuxedo Park, New York, for their kind assistance.

I. MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS

The Venture, London, 1905.

THE | VENTURE | AN ANNUAL | OF ART AND | LITERATURE | MCMV
| JOHN BAILLIE | ONE PRINCES TERRACE | HEREFORD ROAD | LON-
DON. W |

188 pp., 6 pp. advertisements. 10 x 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Issued in buff cloth, with title, date and publisher on spine.

Contains 'Two Songs,' by James A. Joyce, on p. 92. These poems, beginning 'What counsel has the hooded moon . . .' and 'Thou leanest to the shell of night . . .,' were included in *Chamber Music* as numbers XII and XXVI. They are the first poems by Joyce to appear in a book.

David Leo DIAMOND: 'A Flower Given to My Daughter,' for voice and piano; text by Joyce; New York, Arrow Music Press, Inc., 1942; third poem in *Pomes Penyeach*.

'Carteggio Inedito Italo Svevo-James Joyce,' with an introduction by Harry Levin, *Inventario*, Vol. II, Spring 1949, pp. 106-138; unpublished letters.

II. CRITICAL MATERIAL IN BOOKS

Sylvia BEACH: *Catalogue of a Collection Containing Manuscripts & Rare Editions of James Joyce, etc.*, Paris, Shakespeare and Company, 1935; pp. 1-8 list Joyceana.

Edwin Berry BURGUM: 'Ulysses and the Impasse of Individualism' and 'The Paradox of Skepticism in *Finnegans Wake*' in *The Novel and the World's Dilemma*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. 95-108, 109-119; reprinted from the *Virginia Quarterly Review*, Vol. XVII, Autumn 1941, pp. 561-573.

Arthur CALDER-MARSHALL: 'James Joyce' in *Then and Now, 1921-1935*, London, Jonathan Cape, 1935, pp. 186-188.

Mary M. COLUM: 'The Confessions of James Joyce' in *The Freeman Book*, New York, B. W. Huebsch, Inc., 1924, pp. 327-335; review of *Ulysses*, reprinted from *The Freeman*, Vol. V, 19 July 1922, pp. 450-452.

David DAICHES: 'James Joyce: The Artist as Exile' in *Forms of Modern Fiction: Essays Collected in Honor of Joseph Warren Beach*, edited by William Van O'Connor, Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1948, pp. 61-71; reprinted from *College English*, Vol. II, December 1940, pp. 197-206.

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Bernhard FEHR: 'Bewusstseinsstrom und Konstruktion: James Joyce' in *Die englische Literatur der Gegenwart und die Kulturfragen unserer Zeit*, Leipzig, Tauchnitz, 1930, pp. 56-68.

Francis FERGUSON: 'A Reading of *Exiles*' in James Joyce, *Exiles*, Norfolk, Conn., New Directions, 1945, pp. v-xviii.

Wallace FOWLIE: *The Clown's Grail: A Study of Love in its Literary Expression*, London, Dennis Dobson Ltd., 1948.

Louis GILLET: *Stèle pour James Joyce*, Paris, Editions du Sagittaire, 1946, 171 pp., reprints some previously published essays from periodicals.

Seon GIVENS: *James Joyce: Two Decades of Criticism*, New York, The Vanguard Press, 1948, 482 pp.; contains 19 essays on Joyce, of which three (by Hugh Kenner, James T. Farrell, and Vivian Mercier) are new.

Oliver St. John GOGARTY: 'James Joyce: A Portrait of the Artist' in *Mourning Becomes Mrs. Spendlove*, New York, Creative Age Press, 1948, pp. 39-61; reprinted from *Tomorrow*, Vol. VI, January 1947, pp. 20-27.

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IV. PORTRAITS

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WILLIAM WHITE

Book Reviews

The Philobiblon [by] *Richard De Bury*. With an Introduction by Archer Taylor. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1948. xiv, 110 pp. 5½ x 8½ inches. \$3.50.

As one of the earliest of books about books, *Philobiblon*, the Love of Books, *Tractatus pulcherrimus de amore librorum*, will always hold an honorable place for bibliophiles. Its enthusiasm, its frankness, its warmhearted autobiographical charm have made for it many admirers. In manuscript the book has survived in most of the important libraries of England, France, Italy, Germany, Spain, and the Low Countries; it was printed at Cologne in 1473, at Speyer in 1483, and again at Paris in 1500. The first English edition appeared in Oxford in 1598-1599 and was edited by Thomas James, Bodley's first librarian. Other editions have been issued at frequent intervals since, and in 1832 there appeared the first English translation. It is a pleasure, therefore, to welcome this newest of editions in English, simple in style and attractive of format.

The author of *Philobiblon*, Richard Aungerville (1287-1345), was surnamed De Bury from the town near which he was born. He was educated at Oxford and became the tutor to Edward of Windsor, afterwards Edward III. His fortune was made when he sided with Queen Isabella in her conflict with Edward II; when his former pupil came to the throne in 1327, Richard de Bury advanced rapidly. He was successively Cofferer; Treasurer of the Wardrobe; Archdeacon of Northampton; Prebendary of Lincoln, Sarum, and Lichfield; Keeper of the Privy Purse; Ambassador on two occasions to Pope John XXII, who made him a chaplain of the papal court; Dean of Wells; Bishop of Durham; and finally High Chancellor and Treasurer of England. During a short visit to Avignon about 1330, Richard made the acquaintance of Petrarch, who has left a brief account of him.

An avid book-collector, Richard de Bury formed a library which was both extensive and varied. He had more books, it was said, than all of his fellow English bishops put together; he had a separate library at each of his residences; and he literally surrounded himself with books. Each day

at table he had a book read to him, and after dinner discussed with his friends and guests the subject of the reading. And he collected learned friends as readily as he did books. William de Chambre, Richard's biographer,¹ gives a lively account of both the bishop's love of books and his court of learned men, some of whom were the most brilliant scholars of fourteenth-century England. There were Thomas Bradwardine, later Archbishop of Canterbury, a noted Aristotelian who edited Diogenes Laertius and dedicated to Richard a translation of Aristotle's *Politics*; Robert Holkot, author of Biblical commentaries and treatises on chess, mathematics, and astronomy, to whom indeed (and not to Richard de Bury), incidentally, *Philobiblon* has been attributed; John Maudit, an astronomer; Richard de Kilvington, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's; Walter Seagrave, later Dean of Chichester; Richard Benworth, later Bishop of London; and Richard Fitzralph, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh. It was a goodly company.

In *Philobiblon*, Richard de Bury not only discusses "the treasure of wisdom [that] lieth especially in books," "what love is reasonably due to books," "who ought to be the especial lovers of books," and "what benefits the love of books confers," but also the enemies of books (war, unappreciative clerks, and thoughtless monks), as well as such practical matters as "how in buying books the price is to be fixed," "honorable respect in the care [and repair] of books," and rules for the "distributing of our books to all students," probably at the house of the Durham Benedictines in Oxford, for which, it is thought, the bulk of De Bury's library was intended. Unfortunately, there is doubt that the books ever reached there. In any case, Durham College was dissolved by Henry VIII, the library was dispersed, and today only a few of the books which once belonged to this great medieval bibliophile can be identified. Even the catalogue of his collection which Richard is known to have prepared has not come down to us.

By far the most interesting chapters of *Philobiblon* are those in which the bishop describes the manifold opportunities he has had to collect books, his methods of acquiring them by gift, purchase, or simple "liberation" or rescue, and his aims and purposes in collecting his library. He is lightheartedly and disarmingly frank, this man who had his price and who sold his favor and influence for bleared quartos and decrepit tomes instead of more material gifts and prizes:

¹ *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*, Durtees Society (1839). Surprisingly, de Chambre does not mention *Philobiblon*.

No wonder, when many saw that we were contented with gifts of this sort, they strove of their own accord to supply for our uses their books, which they themselves would more gladly lose, rather than the things which they might hope to obtain by assisting in our service. We graciously made it our care, however, so to expedite their affairs that gain accrued to them and yet justice suffered no harm. Truly, had we loved gold and silver cups, spirited horses, or no small sums of money, we might at that time have stored up a rich treasure for ourselves. But, indeed, we preferred books to pounds, loved parchments more than florins, and cared more for lean pamphlets than fat palfreys (pp. 48-49).

Hence, earlier editors of *Philobiblon* have underscored certain passages like that just quoted, and comment on the book has been filled with acrimony at its author's unscrupulousness and moral obtuseness, to use no harsher terms. It is pleasant to record, therefore, that in his introduction to the present edition, Professor Taylor is kinder to Richard than most of his predecessors. But even he writes: "If we judge such acts by the standards of strict moralists, we must admit that he crossed the line between right and wrong and, worse, that he did so knowingly." These circumstances are all the more disconcerting, since it is universally admitted that collectors, and bibliomaniacs in particular, are animated by an ethical code that is individually flexible. Moreover, Richard de Bury died a poor man.

Be that as it may, it can not have been a very indiscriminating man who wrote:

In books I behold the dead live; in books I forsee things to come; in books the affairs of war are displayed; from books proceed the rightful laws of peace. All things decay and waste away in time, and those whom Saturn begets he ceaseth not to devour. Oblivions would overwhelm all the glory of the world, had not God provided for mortals the remedies of books. Alexander, the subduer of the earth; Julius, the invader of Rome and of the world, who, first in art and first in arms, took on himself the empire in his single person; the faithful Fabricius and the severe Cato would today be out of memory, had they lacked the support of books. Towers are razed to the earth, states are overthrown, triumphal arches have moldered into dust, and neither pope nor king will find aught by which the warrant of eternity is conferred more easily than by books. A book once made renders its author this return, that, so long as it shall endure, the author remaining *athanatos*, or immortal, cannot perish, as witness Ptolemy in the Prologue of his *Almagest*. "That man," he saith, "is not dead who hath given life to knowledge." (pp. 8-9).

More serious for the lover of what books contain is Professor Taylor's observation that for all his enthusiastic praise of books, Richard de Bury

does not mention a single one that he owned or read. But every page of *Philobiblon* is filled with unidentified quotations, allusions, or echoes of the great books its author knew and loved: Aristotle, Pliny, Aulus Gellius, Ovid, Augustine, Boethius, Walter Map, *The Golden Legend*, and, above all, the Bible. Hence, it is a matter of singular regret that the present volume is completely without annotations. It cannot be that all readers to whom this book should come will be so learned that they will recognize Richard's allusions without prompting, or that those who would otherwise be attracted to it would be utterly repelled by a few footnotes. *Philobiblon* is not a book for the faint-hearted peruser, and its value could be considerably enhanced for the book-lovers it will attract if its unobtrusive richness were more readily appreciable.

Finally, in the introduction one howler in simple geography may embarrass the editor. But Professor Taylor's friends will all know that he knows Bury St. Edmunds is not in Surrey. At times even Homer nods.

KARL J. HOLZKNECHT

Fifteenth Century Printed Books at the University of Illinois. Compiled by C.

U. Faye. Urbana, The University of Illinois Press, 1949. 160 pp. 9¼ x 6 inches. \$3.00.

The appearance of this checklist supplies the library world with another inventory of the holdings of fifteenth-century books in a particular institution. The present work lists 431 items, rather more than an eighth of which are either fragments consisting of a leaf or two or books that are seriously defective. While none of the truly great incunabula are found in the University of Illinois, this collection does comprise a number of works of considerable interest, including nineteen editions not in the *Second Census*. One may note in particular two important Greek *editiones principes*, those of Aristotle and Suidas. The first edition of the *Arte dell' abbaco*, printed at Treviso in 1478, is a rare and significant book, of which only two other copies are found in this country. The edition of the well-known travel work *Reise in das gelobte Land* by Hans Tucher, printed at Augsburg in 1486, is represented over here only by the University of Illinois copy, while the *Gesamtkatalog* knows of but one other example of the *Auszug und Inhalt der Ablassbulle zum besten der Pfarckirche zu Bern* noted in this catalogue (no. 344). The library's copy of Pynson's *Dives and Pauper* (1493) is incomplete, but English incunabula are so scarce that imperfect copies require no explanatory comments.

In his Foreword, Mr. Robert B. Downs, Director of the University of Illinois Library, calls special attention to Mr. Faye's discussion of the cataloguing of incunabula; naturally, one turns with greatest interest to this section of the volume. Mr. Faye makes a strong plea for a more thorough investigation of the literary contents of fifteenth-century books—a subject that was treated in greater detail and with a wealth of illustrations in Mr. E. Ph. Goldschmidt's scholarly study, *Medieval Texts and Their First Appearance in Print* (London, Printed for the Bibliographical Society at the University Press, Oxford, 1943 [for 1940]). But it is good to have this point—one dear to this reviewer's heart—emphasized again and again, for in this field of research much notable work remains to be done. Mr. Faye's request for full documentation, however, recalls Mr. Goldschmidt's shrewd observation that "a considerable proportion of the learned literature on these texts consists entirely of demonstrations that a book held to be by A is really by B and that Prof. X is wrong in suggesting that it is by C."

As for technical equipment, Mr. Faye maintains that the essential reference tools for the study of early typography may be reduced to four works, two of these being books dealing with illustrations—the standard works by Wilhelm Schreiber and Albert Schramm. These both, he adds, need to be completed to cover all Europe. But it is permissible to wonder why Mr. Faye selects two books which cover the same field (the old German Empire) and says nothing of the similar works of Kurz for Spain and Portugal, Sander for Italy, Hodnett for England, etc. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that many incunabulists will agree with Mr. Downs' dictum, endorsed by Mr. Faye, that few "sensational new discoveries" based on technical investigations of incunabula can be expected in the future. The studies of Theodor Musper on the Dutch blockbooks (just prior to the recent war) bid fair to require a re-examination of the whole "Coster" problem and the re-dating of the blockbooks, while Carl Wehmer's recent work necessitates a complete revision of the bibliographies of the earliest Mainz printing. Surely bibliographers of the McKerrow-Greg-Bowers school will stoutly maintain that the technical study of incunabula (apart from type analyses) is in a rudimentary state, at least when compared with the minute scrutiny to which many STC books have been subjected.

It has come to be accepted as traditional that books dealing with bibliography and typography should be relatively free from misprints and bibliographical errors. A certain number of slips are, of course, inevitable—but the total of more than fifty reached by this slim volume seems somewhat

excessive. Such misprints as Hieornymus, Muesum, and Augustimus are merely bothersome, while Aldius Manutius, Francesca Petrarca, Vincenza (twice) and Terentius After are actively irritating. Variety, too, is found here for the well-known textbook by Udalricus Ebrardi appears once as "Modus latinitatus" and again as "Modus latinatatis." Hard luck continues to dog the footsteps of my old friend G. Maynyal the fifteenth (not sixteenth) -century printer. His Christian name is correctly identified as Guillaume but his surname appears three times as Maynal. Such slips it is difficult to ascribe solely to the compositor.

Apart from these strictures, the checklist of incunabula belonging to this university is a handy and simple reference-work. It follows the arrangement employed by the similar listings of other institutions—a scheme which has apparently met with the universal approval of the bibliographers and collectors of this country. Mr. Faye's book makes it possible to see at a glance what incunabula are found in Urbana; for the library authorities, as well as the friends of the library, it will simplify the task of making intelligent additions to this collection. If the list should attract other incunabula to the library, this work will indeed prove itself a very profitable and valuable publication for the University of Illinois.

CURT F. BÜHLER

Die Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Festschrift herausgegeben zum 25jährigen Dienstjubiläum des Generaldirektors Univ.-Prof. Josef Bick von Dipl.-Ing. Josef Stummvoll, Generaldirektor stellvertreter der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, in Zusammenarbeit mit den Sammlungsdirektoren der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Dr. Otto Brechler, Prof. Dr. Joseph Gregor, Dr. Alois Kisser, Univ.-Prof. Dr. Leopold Nowak, Dr. Hans Pauer, Univ.-Prof. Dr. Walter Till, Dr. Ernst Trenkler. Vienna, H. Bauer-Verlag, 1948. XII, 684 pp. Illus. 9½ x 6¾ inches.

The magnificence of the *Festschrift Bick* is hardly overshadowed by that of the Prunksaal itself, and its editors, the directors of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, owe no apologies to their predecessors in the institution which once bore the proud name of K. K. Hofbibliothek. The honoree, Josef Bick, distinguished classical philologist as well as library administrator, did not round out a quarter of a century of consecutive service, for Nazi appointee Paul Heigl bore the title of *Generaldirektor* from 1938 to 1945; but the services Bick has performed in restoring his library during

the last four years alone were sufficient to justify this noteworthy tribute.

The volume is divided into three sections: (1) Tributes, biographical and bibliographical material concerning Josef Bick, and an essay by Josef Stummvoll, Bick's successor, on the former head librarians of the Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensis, p. 1-69; (2) descriptions of each of the seven major collections of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek by their directors, p. 73-199; (3) fifty-one essays by European and American librarians. Seven full-page color reproductions of illuminated manuscripts, a water-color of the building, and scores of facsimiles, portraits, and other illustrations make this volume a veritable iconographic record of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek as well as a scholarly work of great importance.

To those of us confined to *milieux* of less tradition and productive of less artistic and intellectual talent than Vienna, one of the most striking aspects of this volume is the tremendous wealth of special collections it records. The famous names of world history are echoed in the titles of some of the collections: Archduke Rainer's papyri, the Fugger library, the collection of Prince Eugene of Savoy, the Miramare Library of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico. The La Vallière library, the Hugo Thimig theatrical collection, Stefan Zweig's collection of literary manuscripts bear names which would be a source of pride to any library. The prestige enjoyed by the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek is further illustrated by original poetry contributed by Hermann Hesse and Max Mell.

It would be difficult to single out individual contributions to this rich volume for special attention. Ernst Trenkler describes a hitherto unknown sixteenth-century manuscript book of hours from northern France, thus continuing his studies of illumination which include recent monographs on *Das schwarze Gebetbuch*, Good King René's *Livre du cuer d'amours espris*, and Johannes von Troppau's gospels. Alfred Stix, director of the state art collections, describes Balthasar Permoser's remarkable group now in the Belvedere apotheosizing Prince Eugene, benefactor of both the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and its sister, the Albertina. H. M. Lydenberg's "Some Thoughts on the Part the Printed Book May Play in the International Field" is a thoughtful historical account of war-time and post-war activities on an international level by American librarians, particularly significant as the statement of a man who was in the midst of this work.

The *Festschrift Bick* is a memorable work in every respect. It is one of the most encouraging signs of the times that a work of this calibre can be

produced by an oppressed, devastated, and thoroughly carpet-bagged nation, but one whose spirit is unbroken.

LAWRENCE S. THOMPSON

WEBER, CARL J. *A Thousand and One Fore-edge Paintings with Notes on the Artists, Bookbinders, Publishers and other Men and Women connected with the History of a Curious Art*. Waterville, Maine, Colby College Press, 1949. xvi, 194 pp. Illus. (some colored). 10¼ x 7 inches. \$7.50.

There is something magic about a hidden fore-edge painting, and perhaps for this reason the history of the subject is shrouded in mystery. Professor Weber through a personal examination of the larger and better-known collections in this country has endeavored to shed new light on the beclouded background, using the evidence revealed by the books themselves. Professor Weber was not interested in decorated fore-edges which do not contain hidden paintings except for purposes of introduction. A selection from his chapter headings indicates roughly the progression of his admirable and much needed study: *Samuel Mearne and How It All Began*; "Edwards of Halifax"; *Double Paintings*; *Followers and Imitators of Edwards*; *Twentieth-Century Fore-Edge Decorations*; and *Technique*.

The author is cautious in his presentation; he is unwilling to accept the statements of earlier writers on the subject, and with good and sound reasoning he proves why so many of their statements are erroneous. In the final analysis there still remain very real doubts concerning the inventor of the hidden fore-edge paintings, the artists who painted them, and the dates of their execution; but at least in Professor Weber's book we have a logical and continuous presentation of the story from the time of Samuel Mearne, whose name is associated uncertainly with the earliest known fore-edge paintings, to the present day. Naturally especial emphasis has been given to William Edwards, who revived the art in the middle of the eighteenth century, and the careers of his sons James, John, Thomas and Richard, all of whom contributed to establishing an influence which has endured to this day. Professor Weber gives the lie to the frequently stated phrase that the painting of fore-edges is a "lost art" and ably proves his point through a survey of twentieth-century productions.

The chapter on technique is a little ambiguous, but this is nicely supplemented by a recent article by Wendell S. Hadlock of the Peabody Museum of Salem, Massachusetts. Reprinted from *The Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Volume LXXXV (April, 1949), this essay describes in full

detail the method used by Mr. A. C. Needham, a contemporary artist, in executing fore-edge paintings.

The first appendix to Mr. Weber's book records the thousand and one volumes in American ownership which contain fore-edge paintings. These are arranged by date of publication and the precise locations are indicated. In this admittedly incomplete survey one is naturally interested to learn that the largest single collection of fore-edge paintings in American ownership and probably anywhere in the world is the Estelle Doheny Collection at St. John's Seminary, Camarillo, California. Several of the books from this distinguished assemblage have been used for the numerous collocation-type illustrations, including two in color.

The book was printed by The Anthoensen Press and demonstrates all the qualities of fine workmanship which make books from this press so pleasing.

FREDERICK R. GOFF

Faint Claws & Indirections: Manuscripts of Walt Whitman and His Family.

Edited by Clarence Gohdes and Rollo G. Silver. Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1949. 250 + x pp. 5 7/8 x 9 inches. \$5.00.

Faint Claws & Indirections contains some unpublished manuscript material and Whitman family letters selected from the Trent Collection in the Duke University Library by Messrs. Gohdes and Silver and edited by them. They express the conviction that these "miscellaneous" papers will prove to be "of greatest service to future biographers of the poet, to whom they indeed provide 'faint claws and indirections'—sometimes something more." To this reviewer, however, they bring nothing especially new, but they are valuable in amplifying the story Katherine Molinoff told nearly a decade ago of Whitman's next of kin. The notable papers which do not do this, like the "Phrenological Analysis of the Character of Whitman," have been published elsewhere, though not in every instance (as here) in their entirety. The reviewer has not actually examined the Trent Collection; hence he cannot comment on the important question whether the editors have published the best in that collection, though Miss Frey's catalogue makes him uneasy on that score. Duke University, however, is more liberal than other institutions in making even *part* of its Whitmania available to scholars.

Certain prefatory remarks of the editors reveal them to have been more attentive themselves to the "Indirections" than to the "Faint Claws." We

are told that some of the "notes for poems or versions of efforts in verse" provide an example of "Whitman's slatternly process of fabricating a notable portion of 'Song of Myself.'" If the finished portion is "notable," how could the process of fabrication have been "slatternly"? This kind of pointless innuendo has hurt Whitman in the past and one is sorry to see Messrs. Gohdes and Silver indulge in it. Actually it is fruitful for a poet to scribble down in any form a hint for a line, and it is demonstrable that what the editors have taken for bad spelling was in at least one instance a system of shorthand. The reviewer has already indicated the extravagance of the prefatory claim that "The letters written by his mother and by other relatives . . . afford *for the first time* a fairly substantial basis for judging the mental abilities of the Whitmans. . . ." Mrs. Molinoff's evidence in her monograph, *Some Notes on Whitman's Family* (1941),* was certainly substantial enough, with its citation of the records of mental institutions, etc., and its *priority* is nearly unquestionable.

"Previous accounts of his humble background," the editors write, "have hardly prepared us to learn that *because of Walt's preoccupation with his errands of mercy among the soldiers in the Washington hospitals* his own elder brother was buried from an insane asylum in a potter's field." This is monstrous. Jesse Whitman died on or about March 21, 1870, and on that date Whitman, who had not been notified of his brother's illness, was following his regular employment as a clerk in the Attorney General's office in Washington, D. C. Jesse was buried in a pauper's grave because the officials at the hospital had no other recourse, since they probably wrote to Whitman's old address, the one he gave when Jesse was committed (122 Portland Street, Brooklyn), and received no answer. The Whitmans had moved to a "new" house in August, 1869 (see Walt's letter of August 21 to Peter Doyle). The sole question is why the family, not Walt Whitman especially, allowed Jesse to remain where he was buried. There is no question of moral obliquity, so far as the poet is concerned, connected with Jesse's death.

Whatever the text of *Faint Clews & Indirections* may have contributed to the future understanding of the poet, the editors of this book have served Walt Whitman none too well by their inferences from the materials they have presented to the general public.

OSCAR CARGILL

* Brooklyn, N. Y., Printed by the Comet Press, 1941. (Monographs on Unpublished Whitman Material, no. 2).

BAER, ELIZABETH, *comp.* *Seventeenth Century Maryland: A Bibliography*. Baltimore, The John Work Garrett Library, 1949. xxix, 219 pp. + 180 collotype reproductions. 12 x 8¾ inches. \$20.00.

This distinguished work, tastefully printed in 300 copies by The Anthoensen Press, is a notable contribution to American bibliography and a worthy memorial to the man whose interest in the history of Maryland made it possible.

John Work Garrett, an eminent diplomat whose last post was that of Ambassador to Italy, 1929-1933, died seven years ago, leaving his library, his home and his art collections to the Johns Hopkins University. His books on Maryland in the seventeenth century represent only a small part of a great library brought together by three generations of the Garrett family, but this particular group of books is the one to which he devoted his rare ability as a collector during the later years of his life. He entered the field when competition was keen and earlier collectors had long since made rarities of books once relatively easy and inexpensive to acquire. In spite of these difficulties he built a great collection in a specialized field of Americana.

The John Work Garrett Library is now among the six libraries having the strongest holdings in seventeenth-century Maryland books. The British Museum has more than any other library. In this country the John Carter Brown Library has the most numerous representation of titles, while the other large collections are to be found in the Library of Congress, the Henry E. Huntington Library and the New York Public Library.

As Mr. Lawrence C. Wroth writes in his Introduction, Mr. Garrett soon came to believe that the subject itself was more important to him than his own collection. He wanted as many seventeenth-century Maryland books as it was possible to acquire and he hoped that they would be kept together permanently in the State of Maryland. But he also wanted information about *all* early Maryland books to be made available. Mrs. Garrett shared this view and it is in loyalty to his wishes that she has seen to the publication of this bibliography.

Mr. Garrett first described the collection in *The Maryland Historical Magazine* for March, 1939, where he combined his knowledge of the contents and significance of his books with the bibliographer's sense of responsibility to list, in orderly fashion, his findings. The checklist, which he then appended, contained 109 titles, with locations in over one hundred

public and private collections. He made important additions to his own library after the checklist was published, but the basic list of titles has not been so greatly extended as the numeration of the entries would seem to indicate. The full bibliography, compiled with scholarly judgment by his librarian, Miss Elizabeth Baer, has 209 entries, but in the former checklist all editions of a work were grouped in one entry. Some works, heretofore unrecognized as sources of information on early Maryland, have been discovered by Mr. Garrett and Miss Baer. It is in such findings that their work becomes actually creative.

Books about Maryland *as a colony* began to appear in 1632 when a charter was granted Lord Baltimore so that he might plant and people "a Province neare unto the English Plantation in Virginia." Yet books relating to Maryland appeared before that date and are described by Miss Baer. As a geographical area, lands which were later to be within the province of Maryland had been observed by John Smith. Even in the sixteenth century, which is outside the scope of this book, some record of the country was included in the works of DeBry and Hakluyt. Another interesting strain of pre-colonial history is represented in the books relating to Avalon, Lord Baltimore's "well begunne" but ill-fated plantation in Newfoundland, where his ideas of colonization were first given trial.

This century of Maryland bibliography has not been an easy one for the bibliographer. The perplexities of the printing of the charter, the colonization tracts, the pioneer press at St. Mary's, John Smith's writings with their variant maps, the works of Thomas Bray and other single titles have been troublesome matters in the past. This bibliography represents the culmination of efforts by many scholars. Lawrence C. Wroth, George Watson Cole and Wilberforce Eames have perhaps done most to lay the solid foundation on which this work is based and their solutions of bibliographical problems have come most often to Miss Baer's aid.

The entries in the main body of the bibliography are arranged chronologically and follow this pattern when applicable: author and short title; collation; contents; size; maps (those for Maryland being described in detail); note of available reprints and facsimiles; references to bibliographies and special articles; location of copies; brief historical note about the book and its author (an extremely useful contribution as a guide to subject matter). In these descriptions it is presumed that the user has ready access to the standard bibliographies of Americana, particularly the Church Catalogue. An admirable detail is the notation of what particular copy was used in preparing the entry. Only five books are described with-

out personal examination of at least one copy, these five being unique books in foreign libraries.

Excellent collotype reproductions made from photographs of original title-pages (or title headings) form a valuable appendix to the bibliography. The size of the originals is reproduced as closely as possible except in those of great size, when the reduction is clearly indicated. These reproductions rightly permit Miss Baer to omit full transcripts of title-pages in her descriptions and to employ only a brief title for the purpose of ready identification. No transcript can achieve all the values offered by an actual reproduction of the title-page. In descriptive bibliography the latter is certainly the ideal, though admittedly an expensive, solution.

The location of copies has been unusually thorough, with records of the holdings of 151 libraries and private collections in this country and abroad. Many of the items are of extreme rarity, almost thirty of them being described from unique examples. In the case of eight works known to have been printed in the period, no record of their existence in the twentieth century can be found. At the other extreme are Peter Heylyn's *Cosmographie*, Ogilby's *America*, Purchas *His Pilgrimes* and some of John Smith's works, with copies widely distributed among many collections. An opportunity to study the factors of survival as they relate to subject matter and format is offered by this census of holdings. It is obvious that a large book dealing with a subject comprehensive enough to awaken interest in people of varied tastes will come through the centuries without encountering some of the formidable risks that oppose the preservation of smaller works addressed to a special group. Maryland books of the seventeenth century have many valuable titles which fall into the latter category and it is often in them that the historian will find, for his purposes, the illuminating idea or the clarifying fact.

GERALD D. McDONALD

Letter to the Editor

Editor, PAPERS of the Bibliographical Society of America
Sir:

Since the two installments of my essay, *An American Typographic Tragedy*, appeared in the PAPERS a few errors have been discovered in the text or notes, and one or two items of some importance have turned up. I am venturing, therefore, to send you a brief list of "Additions and Corrections," and to ask you, if possible, to incorporate this into the next issue of the PAPERS.

Vol. 43, PAPERS,

- p. 2. Line 13. "Greenwich, 1909-1919)" should read "Greenwich, 1908-1919)."
- p. 4. Last line. A second letter from Mrs. Bursch to John Reed turned up after *The Literary Collector Periods* was printed. See p. 146.
- p. 5. Footnote 9. Add, "See pp. 147-[148]."
- p. 33. Lines 5-6. "City Bank Auction" should read "City Book Auction."
- p. 132. Line 8. "the men of paint," should read "the man of paint."
- p. 143. Last two lines of text. A new paragraph should commence with "Once Bursch." It is not clear whether this ballad was reprinted for Mr. Schroeder or not.
- p. 144. Line 8. Should close with a reference to Footnote 78. In that Footnote the page cited in Taggard's *May Days* is page 3.
- p. 146. Line 7 should close with a reference to Footnote 7. In Footnote 82 "Note 56" should read "Note 63."
- p. 147. Line 17. "Signed" should be bracketed, thus, ["Signed"]. And Bursch's father died April 20, 1918, instead of April, 1920, as stated erroneously in line 24.
- p. 152. The Tiffany Studios rug book came in a blue pasteboard slipcase.
- p. 157. Since *Hillacre Bookhouse* was printed a *third* variant binding, and a dust wrapper, for Giovannitti's *Arrows in the Gale* have been discovered. This variant is "(c) pink wrappers, otherwise like variant (a)." Nankivell's poster (*q.v.*), reduced, forms the front cover of the dust wrapper.

Mr. William L. Sniffen, Sr., frequently mentioned in the essay, died suddenly in July, 1949, after publication of *The Literary Collector Periods*,

and after the Bursch exhibition at Greenwich, Connecticut, but before *Hillacre Bookhouse* appeared. Mr. Sniffen was obviously deeply moved by the exhibition. As to this, Dr. Vincent Daniels wrote the author, August 28, 1949,

"It was a joy for him [Mr. Sniffen] to have his work for Bursch recognized at the end. I believe it meant a great deal to him, altho' he seemed very quiet about it. It was that very quiet intensity which made me believe the show was a sort of laurel crown for him."

THOMAS A. LARREMORE

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WITHDRAWN

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The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America



VOLUME FORTY-THREE

FIRST QUARTER, 1949

*An American Typographic Tragedy—
the Imprints of Frederick Conrad Bursch*

I. The "Literary Collector" Periods

THOMAS A. LARREMORE

*The Bibliographical History of Thoreau's
"A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers"*

RAYMOND ADAMS

Banvard's Mississippi Panorama Pamphlets

JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

*The Biography of a Forgotten Book—Pownall's
"Topographical Description of . . . North America"*

LOIS MULKEARN

Bibliographical Notes

Book Reviews

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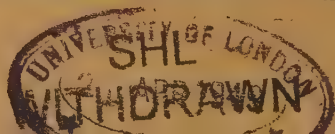
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SECOND QUARTER, 1949

*William Bradford and
The Book of Common Prayer*
BEVERLY McANEAR

*An American Typographic Tragedy—
the Imprints of Frederick Conrad Bursch*
II. Hillacre Bookhouse
THOMAS A. LARREMORE

*A Second (?) Title-Page of the
Second Edition of "Paradise Lost"*
HARRIS FLETCHER

*The Early Editions of
"The Ant and the Nightingale"*
GEORGE R. PRICE

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Book Reviews
Letters to the Editor

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R. W. G. VAIL

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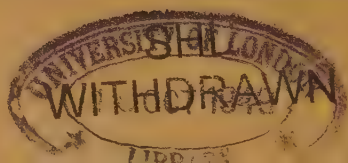
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